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no new strain upon the intelligence of the nations, for it is already familiar and acceptable to them. The difficulty in the way of selecting judges ought, in the presence of the acute demand, now to be solved. The procedure we suggest would involve none of the difficulties presented by the proposal for a league of nations. It is in all reason the next logical extra-military step in international co-operative effort.

The proposal should come from America, because it was originally distinctly American. It would surely meet with the approval of all who know the history of international relationships during the last half century. We feel sure it would be backed up by the International Law Associations. It could be set up without violence to the wishes of large or small states. It would prove more than any other political step possible at present the sincerity of our motives. If, as in 1907, we are still "animated by the sincere desire to work for the maintenance of general peace," "desirous of extending the empire of law and of strengthening the appreciation of international justice," "convinced that the permanent institution of a tribunal of arbitration, accessible to all, in the midst of independent Powers, will contribute effectively to this result," why not try it out with the nations with which we are now so happily united? Those thirty-five articles composing the Draft Convention Relative to the Creation of a Judicial Arbitration Court have never been "denounced." They are there as part of the proceedings of the Second Hague Conference, earnest of the best will of the nations who then said: "With a view to promoting the cause of arbitration, the contracting Powers agree to constitute, without altering the status of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, a Judicial Arbitration Court, of free and easy access, composed of judges representing the various juridical systems of the world, and capable of insuring continuity in jurisprudence of arbitration." These are the words. No question of a political union of States is here raised. Nothing further in the nature of union is needed than we now have. No difficulties so great as already overcome in the case of arms, food, and other materials, are in the way. The nations want this Court. They can have it. It ought not to be necessary to recall the words from Macbeth to drive home the wisdom of going about the matter quickly.

If as Mr. Roosevelt's correspondent says: "The maintenance of peace at all times depends not fundamentally on treaties or leagues of nations, but on the readiness of citizens to fly to the aid of the wronged and to give their lives, if need be, that justice may be secured," and we are glad to accept them, why not, being Americans, go about this business of international justice in an American way, and do it now?

Nationality and Internationalism.

We are learning, as the war goes on. As one writer has expressed it, we are now Seniors in the University of War; we have had four years of it, and might well consider our experience a complete college course. Some of the things we thought and said as Freshmen or "ardent Sophomores," we would now unsay, for we no longer think them. It was not uncommon for us in those days (and the "us" is not by any means limited to the editorial sense of the word) to claim that nationality must be greatly curtailed, if not destroyed, ere internationalism could rise triumphant. We spoke in the hour when the decadence of nationality, its slackness, had permitted the world to go in flames. The instant rush of the latent spirit of nationality to revive and to meet the disaster bewildered us. We blamed it ignorantly. We cried that, were the foolish prejudices of race, language, commercial jealousy, national boundaries, political rivalries put aside, brotherhood would have its opportunity. Since then events themselves have shown us that nationality is none of these. It is an entity apart from them all. They are surface phenomena, in no way to be confused with the true and central fact.

Nationality can be defined, and we make bold to do so. From its infancy in the days of the Spanish rising to its full stature in that moment when America entered the world-war for no selfish or ulterior purpose; from its inchoate form in dormant, gigantic China to its fragile promise in the Republic of Haiti, Nationality, as one consistent entity recognized by all, though unnamed by any, is but the repository of the ideals of a people. If one take the historical extreme of the Israelitish nation or the political extreme of Bolshevik anarchy, nationality, as far as nationality can be applied, remains the same. Though a nation have no written constitution, yet if it be conscious of any ethical differentiation or limitation, it is conscious of nationality. All its nationality consists in, stripped to the bone, is its ideals. When we thread this thought through our study of internationalism, we see more clearly why so many schemes have failed and so many plans have withered to yellow sheets of paper. We see, too, why such visions as Penn's, Kant's, Ladd's, have waited so many weary years for fulfillment. Not over the dead body of nationality, but through the living, eager spirit of it must internationalism come. Nationality dormant means but ideals decayed, manhood mocked. On the other hand, a people whose ideals are high and pure, whose nationalism is radiant and fervent, constitutes a people capable of leading the way to the peace of the world.

He who believes that nationality is losing its strength and its hold on its people, is cherishing a far more vicious delusion than he suspects. Close study of the

shadow-play of political history has blinded his eyes to the grandeur of nationality today. Were nationality not being reborn in this struggle, we might profitably long to plunge ourselves quickly in some abyss of non-existence. Because nationality has now reached heights and a virility hardly known heretofore in history, there is more hope than we need acknowledge for peace on earth.

**What Is
A Peace
Offensive?**

If we are not to exterminate the German race—and of all things certain in this war it is most certain that—that is not our object—we are, then, to continue the war up to a certain point where it will be found profitable for the peace of the world to treat with the German people for a settlement and for guarantees of peace. Whether that point follows revolution in Germany, complete military defeat of the Germans in France, invasion across the Rhine, starvation of the German people, destruction of Prussia's allies, abdication of the Kaiser, or what not, does not much matter. We cannot prevision the particular form the crisis in the domination of Germany by its present masters will take. The first-mentioned consummation seems just now extremely improbable. The second is certain to occur, although it may fall short of the eventual moment of the decisions for a future peace. The rest are more or less probable. The eventuality may be none of these or all of them.

One thing, however, to remember is, that Germany's masters will see the crisis before we do. In anticipation of such a moment their grip on affairs German will be steeled to merciless unscrupulousness. As the crisis approaches, every device will be used to procure a half-defeat, a camouflage victory for the Allies, a giving up of much surface-stuff in order better to retain the less obvious things with which the Greater Prussia may still be rebuilt. To this end nothing will happen in Germany short of outbreak and revolution, and possibly not even that, which has not been elaborately staged by the German military and political strategists. When Scheidemann speaks boldly forth to Camille Huysmans, in the Berlin *Vorwärts*, declaring that the Majority Socialists are eager to meet Allied Socialists in a conference which will include American Socialists also, this is only the old "flag of truce" game in newer guise. Were we naively to accept this as an unrestrainable evidence of the great heart of the German people speaking to the world despite the military rule that has enslaved it, we would deserve the things Boy-Ed once said of us. Feeding the Prussian peace-dove olive branches would prove far more costly than any cost of war itself. When the right time comes, German peace proposals will not attempt to say, as Von Hertling has done, that the

principles of the Allies as stated by Wilson and those of the Prussians are identical, save when they are maintained practically and applied. They will also be purged of the "musts" and the "shalls" that have characterized them to date. They will ask only for common justice, as Belgium, France, Yugoslavia, pre-Bolshevik Russia and other countries ask for it, and they will leave its determination to the common tribunal—the judgment of the true representatives of the society of the nations.

LAW-AND-ORDER PATRIOTISM

A Statement Issued July 26 by President Wilson

My Fellow Countrymen: I take the liberty of addressing you upon a subject which so vitally affects the honor of the nation and the very character and integrity of our institutions that I trust you will think me justified in speaking very plainly about it.

I allude to the mob spirit which has recently here and there very frequently shown its head amongst us, not in any single region, but in many and widely separated parts of the country. There have been many lynchings, and every one of them has been a blow at the heart of ordered law and humane justice. No man who loves America, no man who really cares for her fame and honor and character, or who is truly loyal to her institutions, can justify mob action while the courts of justice are open and the governments of the States and the nation are ready and able to do their duty. We are at this very moment fighting lawless passion. Germany has outlawed herself among the nations, because she has disregarded the sacred obligations of law, and has made lynchers of her armies. Lynchers emulate her disgraceful example. I, for my part, am anxious to see every community in America rise above that level, with pride and a fixed resolution which no man or set of men can afford to despise.

We proudly claim to be the champions of democracy. If we really are, in deed and in truth, let us see to it that we do not discredit our own. I say plainly that every American who takes part in the action of a mob or gives any sort of countenance is no true son of this great democracy, but its betrayer, and does more to discredit her by that single disloyalty to her standards of law and right than the words of her statesmen or the sacrifices of her heroic boys in the trenches can do to make suffering peoples believe her to be their savior. How shall we commend democracy to the acceptance of other peoples, if we disgrace our own by proving that it is, after all, no protection to the weak? Every mob contributes to German lies about the United States, what her most gifted liars cannot improve upon by the way of calumny. They can at least say that such things cannot happen in Germany except in times of revolution, when law is swept away!

I therefore very earnestly and solemnly beg that the governors of all the States, the law officers of every community, and, above all, the men and women of every community in the United States, all who revere America, and wish to keep her name without stain or reproach,